1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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796 794 621 [545] The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

796 794 787 [578] As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

796 776 During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each [782] village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable [574] dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

794 796 62 [345] out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in [435] order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

796 794 [659] After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity [435] in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment [545] costs are less each succeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.

521 and how much was it?" No matter what the price, the constant response was, "I could get it cheaper!" (See Glossary C). There are few secrets inside the village, but the villagers united against outsiders.

524 Games requiring physical exertion are played by children only. There is only one organized game with rules, the tag ball played in school. Children's games are similar to what would be called "free play" in American schools. There are few toys and most of these are home made. Among adults, only men play games and these are sedentary games of skill such as a card game or chess. There will be chess games a couple of times per week but there are usually more kibitzers than participants. Mah Jong is illegal but there is a game about once or twice a month among the Mainlanders in the area.

• 545 Religious and life cycle events are colorful affairs which are interesting to observe. For many such events, entertainers are hired such as the crew of 15 or more required to present a Taiwan Hsi (opera) which may last eight or ten hours. Cheaperrentertainment might include a puppet show, juggler, sword dancers, etc. About once a month or so, a sales crew puts on a show which fea-
545 tures songs, dances, and jokes to draw customers. The show
443 is punctuated by the entertainers passing through the audience selling medicine and since the length of the show is determined by the amount sold, some people buy in order to

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443 prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of
207 the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

546 Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house
571 in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are
[882] separated according to sex. There is some dating but the
[718] boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young
[593] married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people.
517 Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks
574 and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often
275 come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men
265 occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word